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STUDIES IN THE CATILINARIAN ORATIONS¹

In a fine paper entitled *Fundamental and Auxiliary Studies of the Classical Teacher*, which was published in *THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY* 12.201-206, Professor Julius Sachs set forth what he described as "the irreducible range of information which . . . is fundamental to Secondary teaching of the Classics" (204). To the acquisition of this irreducible range of information the *fundamental* studies of the classical teacher must be, in his opinion, addressed. The *auxiliary* studies of such a teacher, he went on to say (204), are concerned with "a vast range of collateral material upon some of which he should draw in his contact with his classes".

One more quotation from this article (204) will serve to launch us properly upon our present discussion:

In the teaching of Latin every teacher should develop one or several special interests, interests that reach beyond the literary interpretation of his text and yet emanate from it. A casual reference will suffice to show your students how from your ancient authors you gather testimony as to the general cultural background.

The present paper is an outcome of one classical teacher's effort to act in the spirit of Professor Sachs's injunction. I purpose to collect the more important passages in the four Orations Against Catiline which throw light on Roman life—not upon Roman public or political life, but upon what is covered by the title *The Private Life of the Romans*. In point of fact, the paper will essay to do more than that—to illustrate, by an appeal to familiar and reasonably accessible passages in other Latin authors, authors, too, whose works should be within the reading of all teachers of the Classics, what may be discovered in the *Catilinarian Orations* themselves. I deliberately refrain from references to the *Handbooks*. Teachers of Cicero ought to find both pleasure and profit in collecting, through their own reading of Latin authors, a proper array of illustrative passages. It goes without saying that they will remember better what they find out for themselves. In gathering the material here presented I had in mind some words written long ago (1888) by Professor J. B. Greenough, in the Preface to his edition of the *Satires and Epistles of Horace*:

. . . the editor has derived so much advantage from editions of the Classics in which the notes reminded him in particular connections of things which in general he knew before, that he has not inquired so much

whether a thing was likely to be known, as whether it was likely to be thought of in the connection.

One more preliminary observation must be made. In the balance of this paper I shall be concerned far more with the *teacher* of Latin than with that teacher's pupils. I am, to be sure, convinced that much of what follows might very well be used in actual teaching—even to the employment, in the best printed translations, or in the teacher's own paraphrases, of the passages quoted from Latin authors, and of others like them. But, whether such employment in practical teaching is possible or not, there can be no two opinions concerning the correctness of the proposition, that a teacher ought to keep growing constantly by doing some work above and beyond the bare minimum required to discharge (?) his daily tasks. Every teacher of the Classics should make true of himself what Cicero said of liberal studies (*Pro Archia* 16).

(1) Let us begin with a familiar passage, from 1.8:

Recognosce tandem mecum noctem illam superiorem: iam intelleges multo me vigilare acrius ad salutem quam te ad perniciem rei publicae. Dico te priore nocte venisse inter falcarios—(non agam obscure), in M. Laecae domum. . . .

Here we have specific evidence of something which, without the evidence, common sense would have taught us, that, in ancient days, as in modern times, persons engaged in the same occupation gravitated together. To this gathering in the Street of the Scythe-Makers Cicero refers also in his *Pro Sulla* 52, in a passage which is of importance not only here, but also in connection with the passage we shall consider next. It runs as follows:

Sed quoniam Cornelius ipse etiam nunc de indicando dubitat, ut dicitis, informat ad hoc adumbratum indicium filium, quid tandem de illa nocte dicit, cum inter falcarios ad M. Laecam nocte ea quae consecuta est posterum diem Nonarum Novembrium me consule, Catilinae denuntiatione, convenit? quae nox omnium temporum coniurationis acerrima fuit atque acerbissima. Tum Catilinae dies exeundi, tum ceteris manendi condicio, tum descriptio totam per urbem caedis atque incendiorum constituta est; tum tuus pater, Corneli, id quod tandem aliquando confitetur, illam sibi officiosam provinciam depoposcit, ut, cum *prima luce consulem salutatum veniret, intromissus et meo more et iure amicitiae me in meo lectulo trucidaret*.

Various other Vici or Streets in Rome were named, it would seem, after the groups of persons of like pursuits or like characteristics who dwelt in them. Livy 35.41 (not 35.43, as Wilkins says on Cicero, *Cat.* 1.8) declares that the aediles of 194 B.C. porticum extra Portam Trigeminam *inter lignarios* fecerunt. One explanation

¹This paper was read at the First Fall Meeting of The Classical Association of the Atlantic States, held at the University of Pennsylvania, November 29, 1919.

of the name Vicus Iugarius (that of a street of the Forum Romanum which ran between the Templum Saturni and the Basilica Julia), is that on it the makers of yokes had their shops. A street running into the Argiletum was called the Vicus Sandaliarius. Another street was known as the Vicus Ad Tonsores. We may, perhaps, mention here the Vicus Tuscus, which lay between the Basilica and the Templum Castoris et Pollucis. Tradition declared that this street was named after a colony of Etruscans, who, according to one tale, fled to Rome after the repulse of Porsenna at Aricia; another story had it that these Etruscans came to aid the Romans against the Sabine King, Titus Tatius. But it has been held that the settlement from which the street got its name was made up of the workmen who came to Rome to build the Capitolium. We might remark that in this Street the Sosii Fratres, booksellers, had their shop. Perhaps other booksellers had shops there: at any rate Horace, Epp. 1.20.1-2, has this street in his mind much as a Londoner might think of Paternoster Row. We know that booksellers congregated in the street on the North side of the Forum which was known as the Argiletum. Who that has read Martial 1.3.1-2 can forget those verses, or the rest of the piece?

Argiletanas mavis habitare tabernas,
cum tibi, parve liber, scrinia nostra vacant.

Who can forget Martial 1.117?:

Occurris quotiens, Luperce, nobis,
"Vis mittam puerum" subinde dicis,
"cui tradas epigrammaton libellum,
lectum quem tibi protinus remittam?".
Non est quod puerum, Luperce, vexes.
Longum est, si velit ad Pirum venire,
et scalis habito tribus, sed altis.
Quod quaeris propius petas licebit.
Argi nempe soles subire letum:
contra Caesaris est Forum taberna
scriptis postibus hinc et inde totis,
omnes ut cito perlegas poetas.
Illinc me pete. Nec roges Atrectum
—hoc nomen dominus gerit tabernae—
de primo dabit alterove nido
rasum pumice purpuraque cultum
denaris tibi quinque Martialem.
"Tanti non es" ais? Sapis, Luperce.

(2) In 1.10 Cicero reminds Catiline, and informs the Senate, that, at the gathering at the house of Laeca Catiline and his associates had made their final plans. Mark these words:

. . . dixisti paulum tibi esse etiam nunc morae,
quod ego viverem. Reperti sunt duo equites Romani
qui te ista cura liberarent et sese illa ipsa nocte paulo
ante lucem me in meo lectulo interfecturos pollicerentur
. . . . exclusi eos quos tu ad me salutatum mane
miseras. . . .

The words specially to be noted here are *illa ipsa nocte* . . . *interfecturos* and *quod tu ad me salutatum mane miseras*. With them compare the italicized words at the close of the passage from Cicero's Pro Sulla 52, cited above. Both sets of words bear testimony to the familiar fact that the *salutatio* took place, constantly, at

what would seem to us late-rising Americans an unearthly hour, so early in fact that the great man greeted his visitors while he was yet in bed. So well established was the custom that the *duo equites* could, under normal conditions (that is, if there had been no treachery within the ranks of the conspirators), have counted confidently upon being admitted, without question, to the bedchamber of their intended victim, to find him helplessly at their mercy.

These words of Cicero ought to bring to mind certain verses of Horace (Sermones 2.6.20-39), part of Horace's description of the discomforts of life in town:

Matutine pater, seu Iane libentius audis,
unde homines operum primos vitaeque labores
instituunt—sic dis placitum—tu carminis esto
principium. Romae sponsorem me rapis: "Eia!
ne prior officio quisquam respondeat, urge!"
Sive Aquilo radit terras seu bruma nivalem
interiore diem gyro, ire necesse est.
Postmodo quod mi obsit clare certumque locuto
luctandum in turba et facienda iniuria tardis.
"Quid vis, insane, et quas res agis?" improbus urget
iratis precibus; "tu pulses omne quod obstat,
ad Maecenatem memori si mente recurras".
Hoc iuvat et melli est: non mentiar. At simul atras
ventum est Esquilias, aliena negotia centum
per caput et circa saliunt latus. "Ante secundam
Roscius orabat sibi adesses ad Puteal cras".
"De re communi scribe magnae atque nova te
orabant hodie meminisses, Quinte, reverti".
"Imprimat his cura Maecenas signa libellis".
Dixeris, "Experiar", "Si potes, vis", addit et instat.

What teacher of the Classics can fail to recall at this point passages from Juvenal and Martial, e. g. Juvenal 3.126-130?

Quod porro officium, ne nobis blandiar, aut quod
pauperis hic meritum, si curet nocte togatus
currere, cum praetor lictorem imperlat et ire
praecipitem iubeat, dudum vigilantibus orbis,
ne prior Albinam et Modiam collega salutet?

Compare also Juvenal 5.19-23 (Trebius, the poor luckless *cliens*, gets, at last, an invitation to dine with his *patronus*):

habet Trebius propter quod rumpere somnum
debeat et ligulas dimittere, sollicitus ne
tota salutatrix iam turba peregerit orbem,
sideribus dubiis aut illo tempore quo se
frigida circumagunt pigri serraca Bootae.

(3) In 1.14 Cicero says

Praetermitto ruinas fortunarum tuarum, quas omnis
impendere tibi proximis Idibus senties. . . .

We may think at once of Horace, Epodes 2, the charming idyl in which Horace sets forth the vagaries of the tired business man of ancient Rome, who threatens a 'back to the farm' movement (on this Epode compare now Professor Tenney Frank, Classical Philology 15.23-25). You will recall especially 67-70:

Haec ubi locutus faenerator Alfius,
iam iam futurus rusticus,
omnem redegit Idibus pecuniam,
quaerit Kalendis ponere.

This passage suggests another, also from Horace. In Sermones 1.3 Horace is urging charity in judging the

faults of others. Such charity is entirely possible, whatever may be the ethical standards and measurements of a given age. The whole matter of right and wrong, and hence of the punishments meted out to wrong, is one of man's own ordering; the moment man finds that his ideas of *ius* and *iniustum* are erroneous, and that the punishments he is meting out for infractions of his purely subjective and arbitrary code are too severe, he can, if he will, change code and punishments.

'Why does not man, using his reason, employ weights and measures of his own, instead of the absurd code of the Stoics? Why does he not, in every instance, make the punishment just fit—not exceed—the offence? Suppose some slave, when bidden to remove a dish from the table, should lick the half-eaten fish and the half-cold gravy; suppose, further, that his master should then impale him on the cross: why, the whole world would regard that master as the maddest of the mad. And yet I can cite you a madder blunder! Your friend is "guilty" of some slight sin of omission, so slight that, should you fail to condone it, you would be accounted lacking in mellowness. Do you condone it? No'. Then come verses 85-89:

acerbus
odisti et fugis ut Rusonem debitor aeris,
qui nisi, cum tristes misero venere Kalendae,
mercedem aut nummos unde unde extricat,
perfecto iugulo historias captivus ut audit.

(4) In 1.31 we get information, perhaps, concerning a Roman method of dealing with fever patients. Cicero is arguing that the best interests of the State demand that not only Catiline, but also every one who sympathizes with him shall be cast out of the body politic. The departure of Catiline will, for a little while, bring relief to the State, but it will not cure the disease from which the State is suffering:

Ut saepe homines aegri morbo gravi cum aestu febrique iactantur, si aquam gelidam biberunt, primo relevari videntur, deinde multo gravius vehementiusque adflectantur, sic hic morbus qui est in re publica relevatus istius poena vehementius reliquis vivis ingravescet.

I infer that among the Romans, as in modern days, even in the last century, water was, as a rule, denied to fever patients.

In 2.11 Cicero again has the language of medicine, especially of surgery, in mind:

quae sanari poterunt, quacumque ratione sanabo, quae rescanda erunt non patiar ad perniciem civitatis manere.

With this compare 2.17:

. . . singulis medicinam consili atque rationis meae, si quam potero, adferam.

Once more we may illustrate Cicero by an appeal to Horace. In *Sermones* 1.3, in the course of his fine plea for charity in judging others, already mentioned, he says (76-79):

Denique, quatenus excidi penitus vitium irae,
cetera item nequeunt stultis haerentia, cur non
ponderibus modulisque suis ratio utitur, ac res
ut quaeque est ita supplicis delicta coercet?

It may be noted that *coercere* could readily be used of surgical efforts to keep down a malignant growth.

(5) Turning now to the Second Oration, we find its first sentence of interest:

Tandem aliquando . . . L. Catilinam . . . vel eiecimus vel emisimus vel ipsum egredientem verbis prosecuti sumus.

Cicero might have omitted *verbis*, and have been in accord, still, with certain facts of Roman life, as he was, for instance, in *Cat.* 1.21:

. . . eosdem facile adducam ut te haece quae vastare iam pridem studes relinquenter usque ad portas prosequantur.

In *Ad Atticum* 6.3.6 Cicero mentions among the discourtesies of a certain Gavius (Cicero was then proconsul of Cilicia) this: Is me ncc proficiscentem Apameam prosecutus est. . . .

We may now recall the acts suggested by the familiar phrases *deducere ad (in) Forum* and *reducere domum*. Here a familiar passage is Horace, *Serm.* 1.9.56-60 (said by the Bore of the Appian Way):

Haud mihi dero:
muneribus servos corrumpam; non, hodie si
exclusus fuero, desistam; tempora quaeram,
occurram in triviis, deducam. Nil sine magno
vita labore dedit mortalibus.

Equally familiar should be Cicero, *Cato Maior* (= *De Senectute*) 62-63:

Non cani nec rugae repente auctoritatem adripere possunt, sed honeste acta superior aetas fructus capit auctoritatis extremos. Haec enim ipsa sunt honorabilia, quae videntur levia atque communia—salutari, adpeti, decedi, deduci, reduci, consuli, quae et apud nos et in aliis civitatibus, ut quaeque optime morata est, ita diligentissime observantur.

From these passages one can pass on to others in Juvenal and Martial which have to do with the life of the *clientes* of that time. Part of the duty of these *clientes* was to escort their *patroni* to and from the Forum. Compare e. g. Juvenal 1.127-134:

Ipse dies pulcro distinguitur ordine rerum:
sportula, deinde forum iurisque peritus Apollo
atque triumphales, inter quas ausus habere
nescio quis titulos Aegyptius atque Arabarches,

Vestibulis abeunt veteres lassique clientes
votaque deponunt, quamquam longissima cenae
spes homini: caulis miseris atque ignis emendus².

If one wishes to roam further afield, to learn more of forms of courtesy among the Romans, he may take a delightful passage, Horace, *Epistles* 1.6, the famous *Nil admirari* letter. Horace begins this letter with a statement of his own conception of the *summum bonum*. He then bids the man to whom this conception does not appeal to formulate his own view of the *summum bonum*, and, having done so, to strive with might and main to realize it. If, for instance, a man sets his heart on political preferment as the highest attainable good, this is what he should do (50-55):

²Reference may be made here to a dissertation by Miss Anne Bertha Miller *Roman Etiquette of the Late Republic as Revealed by the Correspondence of Cicero* (reviewed by Professor Walter Miller in *THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY* 9.61-62).

mercemur servum qui, dictet nomina, laevum
qui fodiet latus et cogat trans pondera dextram
porrigere: "Hic multum in Fabia valet, ille Velina;
cui libet hic fascis dabit, eripietque curule
cui volet importunus ebur". Frater, pater, adde:
ut cuique est aetas, ita quemque facetus adopta.

With all this I should compare two passages from Irving's *Alhambra*. In the chapter entitled *The Journey*, we read:

Thus equipped and attended, we cantered out of 'fair Seville city' at half-past six in the morning of a bright May day, in company with a lady and a gentleman of our acquaintance, who rode a few miles with us in the Spanish mode of taking leave.

Again, in the chapter entitled *The Author's Farewell to Granada*, Irving writes:

Manuel . . . and two or three old invalids of the Alhambra with whom I had grown into gossiping companionship, had come down to see me off; for it is one of the good old customs of Spain to sally forth several miles to meet a coming friend and to accompany him as far on his departure.

This charming custom obtained in the American Colonies. Compare e. g. Mrs. Alice Morse Earle, *Home Life in Colonial Days*, 332 (New York, Macmillan, 1899).

It was also a universal and courteous as it was a pleasant custom for friends to ride out on the road a few miles with any departing guest or friend, and then bid them God speed agatewards.

(6) In 2.5 Cicero characterizes in vigorous terms the constituent elements of Catiline's army. He then pays his respects to certain persons who are still in the city, though they belong, in spirit and purpose, to that army; among the things he charges against them is the fact that *nihil unguentis*. One who remembers that perfumes are mentioned often in Horace may at first be surprised by this charge; on second thoughts, however, he recalls that Horace mentions perfumes regularly in connection with the *comissatio*. The Horatian passages are, therefore, not in collision with our passage from Cicero. Further illustrations are easily discoverable in random reading. One such is Plautus, *Mostellaria* 273-279, part of the scene in which Philematium *meretrix* is adorning herself for the eyes of her lover, Philolaches. Addressing her shrewd old nurse, Scapha, who has been embittered by her experience of man's faithlessness, Philematium says, 'Do you think I ought to use *unguenta*?' 'Not at all', answers Scapha. 'Why?', inquires Philematium. Scapha's answer deserves to be quoted in full:

Quia ecastor mulier recte olet ubi nihil olet.
Nam istae veteres, quae se unguentis unctitant, inter-
potes,
vetulae, edentulae, quae vitia corporis fuco occultant,
ubi sese sudor cum unguentis consociavit, ilico
itidem olent quasi quom multa iura confudit cocus.
Quid olant nescias, nisi id unum, ut male olere intel-
legas.

Horace, *Sermones* 1.4.91-93, runs thus:

Ego si risi quod ineptus
pastillos Rufillus olet, Gargonius hircum,
invidus et mordax videor tibi?

Martial 2.12 savagely condemns a certain Postumus, thus:

Esse quid hoc dicam, quod olent tua basia myrrham
quodque tibi est numquam non alienus odor?
Hoc mihi suspectum est, quod oles bene, Postume,
semper:
Postume, non bene olet qui bene semper olet.

Returning now to Cicero himself, Cat. 2.10, we note another savage condemnation of Catiline's followers:

. . . accubantes in conviviis complexi mulieres
impudicas, vino languidi, conferti cibo, sertis redimiti,
unguentis obliti, debilitati stupris, eructant sermonibus
suis caedem bonorum atque urbis incendia.

Here the wearing of garlands is coupled with the use of unguents. We may recall again the fact that in Horace the garlands are mentioned in connection with the *comissatio*, and think in particular of such a passage as Plautus, *Menaechmi* 463, where Peniculus *parasitus* describes Menaechmus Syracusanus as the latter comes from his luncheon with Erotium *meretrix*: *cum corona exiit foras*. Menaechmus himself tells us (475) that he has been drinking. In 563-564 Peniculus, talking to the wife of Menaechmus Epidamniensis about her husband, as he supposes, says (with some exaggeration, to be sure):

pellam ad phrygionem cum corona ebrius
ferebat hodie tibi quam surrupuit domo.

C. K.

(To be concluded)

REVIEWS

An Epigraphic Commentary on Suetonius's *Life of Tiberius*. By Clara A. Holtzhauser. University of Pennsylvania Dissertation. Philadelphia, 1918 (printed by Intelligencer Printing Co., Steinman and Foltz, Lancaster, Pa.). Pp. 47.

C. Suetonii Tranquilli *De Vita Caesarum Liber VIII Divus Titus*: An Edition with Parallel Passages and Notes. By Helen Price. University of Pennsylvania Dissertation. Menasha, Wisconsin: George Banta Publishing Company (1919). Pp. x + 85.

We learn from the Introduction of Miss Holtzhauser's dissertation (page 5) that

The purpose of this thesis is to collect such inscriptions as may either confirm or refute the statements of Suetonius in his *Life of Tiberius*, and such as may prove of general interest in relation to that work.

These inscriptions with the commentary thereon cover about forty pages, and much of it is very interesting. The author's style is concise, a quality which is often a virtue. But at times it is much too concise. For example, on page 13 the note on *Agrippinam* seems too brief, and it would be interesting to find there the reason for the erasure noted. But the most unfortunate instance of compression is in the Introduction, where the conclusions drawn from the investigation are set forth in nine lines—we might even say in four lines. A dissertation should show more than the mere ability to